1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

412 duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was be-
[317] ginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and ornaments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged
[286 323] metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a
411 variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By
176 and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

361 The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the
342 simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

342 More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

court. The house walls had stone bases and, according to the wealth or taste of the owner, were finished in stone or adobe. The roof was constructed by covering crossbeams with small poles tightly fitted together and spreading a layer of lime plaster over the whole. As there were no windows, the houses had to be shallow. To admit light and air the buildings were usually two rooms deep and prolonged according to taste and wealth. The back room, which contained a hearth for cooking, was completely enclosed save for the door to the outer chamber which was left largely open on the patio side, columns or short wing walls supporting the rafters. Two-story houses probably did not exist before the Conquest, but there are cases where, to have light and circulation of air, a rear court with its surrounding rooms was elevated on a platform to the height of the roofs of the rooms around the patio in front.[16] (See Plate 41.)

Recent excavations in the palace of the chief of Chicoacnauhtla, a fief of Texcoco, revealed interesting data on the growth of a chiefly establishment. This palace was continually being rebuilt and expanded to meet the demands of a growing population and richer economy. Patios were arranged at different levels, according to the plan described above. The earliest rooms had the congested quality of a Teotihuacan plan, but the later chambers were more spacious and open to sun and air. Each renovation called for more space, so that allowing a family of five to each hearth, the entourage of the chief more than trebled in a century and a quarter.[18] (See Plate 43.)

The plan of an Aztec town tended to have a rectangular form, since the division of the land among the clans usually followed a more or less orderly rectilinear pattern. A central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 plaza was essential for communal gatherings; the market and the principal structures, like the main temple and the chief's quarters, were situated at this point. In Tenochtitlan, which was reported to have sixty thousand fires or hearths, or figuring on the same basis as above, three hundred thousand people, additional centers existed for each clan and for the four larger districts into which the city was divided for administrative purposes.[16] (See Plate 37, top.)

114 We have been left a description of an Aztec city in 1524 from a Spanish monk, Fray Toribio de Benavente, called by the Indians "Motolinia," or "poor," in reference to his Franciscan simplicity of life. His firsthand observations have a fresh reality:

361 "They called these temples *teocallis*, and we found all
346 over the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one crossbow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and three leagues' distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to the courts of the *teocallis*, . . . the devil did not content himself with the aforesaid *teocallis*, but in each pueblo and in each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes three or four *teocallis*. . . ."[17]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

or stone. In the whole of Mexico there is no more harmonious treatment of gigantic mass and planes than the substructure of the Temple of the Sun.[4] (See Plates 18, bottom; 22, bottom.)

The floors of the temple survive, though the roof and walls were destroyed long ago, but the illusion of infinite height and space still remains. The planes between its terraces are so cunningly calculated that the observer standing at the foot of the great staircase cannot see people at the top. He is conscious only of the massive ascent disappearing into space. When the stair was used by a religious procession, in all its pomp and color, the effect must have been stupendous. The elaborate hierarchy of a great civilization moved upward to meet, at a point unseen by the beholders, the infinity of the heavens, concentrated aloft in the god's image.

The plan of the sacred city of Teotihuacan was calculated to maintain the illusion of mass and height. The buildings were laid out in groups along a north-south axis, broken laterally by several precincts oriented to the east and west. From whatever angle one approached Teotihuacan the eye was led toward a point of interest, guided by the arrangement of the planes and masses. Thus the diminishing effect of distance was avoided. Within each precinct the surrounding walls insulated the observer from the rest of the city and emphasized the mass and height of the principal precinct temple. Not even the Pyramids of Egypt present so carefully calculated a plan to dominate the individual with the sheer weight of supernatural power. The modern visitor to Teotihuacan, now in ruins, cannot escape the ancient association of ideas that the greater his temple, the more powerful a god must be. (See Plate 22, top.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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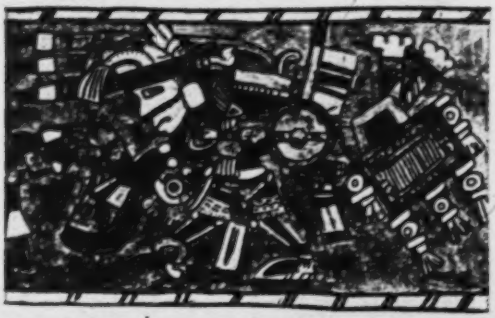

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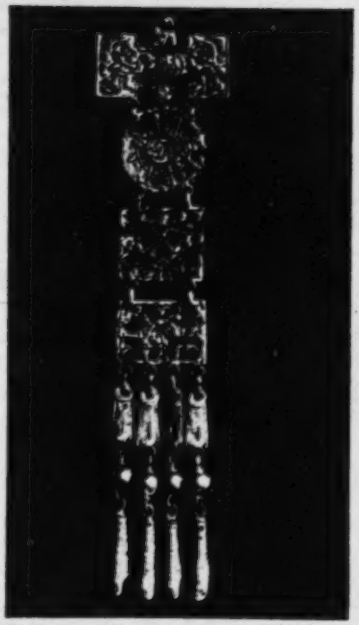

PLATE 57

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tizatlan. BOTTOM: *Left:* The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (cf. Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial stone. K. Old temple of Huitzilopochtli. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. Q. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. *Right:* Gold ornament representing the vertical universe; at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

[p. 176(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER XIII

GLIMPSE OF TENOCHTITLAN

What the Spaniards saw when they entered this great Aztec capital

THE HISTORY of the Aztecs and their forebears is the most complete record we have of the growth of any Indian civilization. Their conquest was the greatest feat in the European occupation of the American continent. The Aztecs were at their zenith in 1519, when Cortes and his four hundred men first landed, and a description of Tenochtitlan, taken from the contemporary records of the conquerors themselves, will show us something of the external character of Indian civilization in America.[1]

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who left the most personal record of the Spanish Conquest, tells how his comrade-in-arms on first beholding Tenochtitlan, the ancient Mexico City, exclaimed, "It is like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis! Are not the things we see a dream?"

This is lyric language from hard-bitten men-at-arms, whose chief avocations, while engaged in converting the heathen, lay in acquiring booty and enjoying the charms of dusky Dulcineas. Yet in contrast to the drab towns and [361] tawny hills of Spain, Tenochtitlan must have appeared a paradise, for its green gardens and white buildings were set in the midst of blue lakes, ringed by lofty mountains. "Gaz-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ing on such wonderful sights," wrote Bernal Diaz, "we did not know what to say or whether what appeared before us was real, for on one side in the land there were great cities and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we . . . we did not even number four hundred soldiers."[2]

Although socially and governmentally Tenochtitlan was distinctly an American Indian tribal town, outwardly it appeared the capital city of an empire. A bird's-eye view would have revealed an oval island connected with the mainland by three causeways which converged at the center of the city. These roads were cut by waterways over which removable bridges extended. The edges of the island were fringed by the green of the "floating gardens," while at the center the shiny white of the houses predominated, and the verdure was reduced to tiny green squares in the patio gardens. Thrust above the quadrate masses of the roof tops loomed the various clan temples, each set on its platform in the form of a truncated pyramid. The city had few streets or open spaces but was gridded with canals crossed by portable bridges. The two principal plazas were those of the Temple of Tlaltelolco and of the religious center of Tenochtitlan proper, open spaces which gave a welcome relief from the pyramids and official palaces clustered about them. There must have been a curiously living quality about this grouping, the temples seeming to ride like horsemen among the serrated ranks of the houses. (See Plate 37, top.)

Were a visitor to traverse Tenochtitlan from south to north, he would have been struck by the rich variety of sights.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held [241] in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously [311] poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went [501] about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli*.

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the
438 usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing
[625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which
346 divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco.
361 Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples, distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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completely dominated the place. At regular intervals terraces broke the lines of the sloping sides and increased the impression of its size. A wide staircase of one hundred and fourteen narrow steps led up the western side, and so steep was this stair that not until one's head rose clear of the platform did the temple itself come into view.

The temple, in reality, comprised two shrines, built side by side, each having stone walls and soaring roofs of wood coated with plaster. Through the right-hand door one could clearly see the squat figure of Huitzilopochtli carved from the stone and covered with a paste in which were set jade, turquoise, gold and seed pearls. A girdle of gold snakes, picked out in precious stones, adorned his waist, and around his neck hung a string of gold masks covered with turquoise mosaic. By his side stood the statue of an attendant deity, equipped with a short lance and a gold shield, richly decorated with the customary mosaic.

In the adjoining shrine stood an image of Tezcatlipoca, one of the most prominent Aztec gods. His eye sockets were inlaid with mirrors of obsidian, the black depths of which reflected the red gleams of the afternoon light. This statue, too, was adorned with gold and precious stones. High in the wooden roof of this temple perched a small figure of Xipe, the God of Seedtime. Braziers of incense discharged greasy coils of smoke which deepened the gloom of the temples, whose walls were already black with the blood of many victims. In dim corners stood heaps of ritualistic paraphernalia, conch-shell trumpets, knives, banners and baskets of shapeless lumps of meat, surplus human hearts which, for some reason, had not yet been placed upon the braziers. The priests who glided through this murk seemed fitting satellites to the

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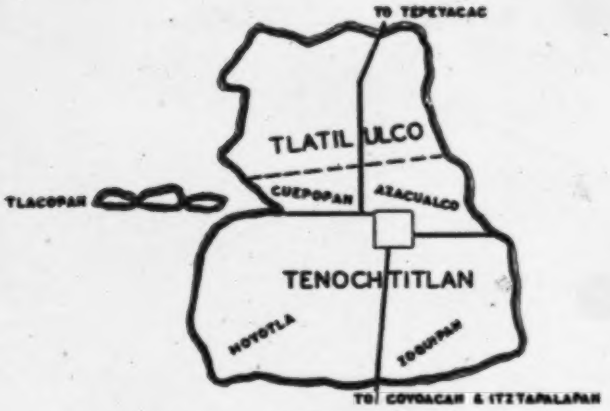

Chart showing two-fold division of the island and four-fold division of Tenochtitlan

KEY TO MAP OF TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

1. Palace of Moctezuma
2. Tezcalco
3. Quauhquiauac
4. Tecpantzinco
5. Acatl yiacapan
6. Tezcacac
7. Temple of Uitzilopochtli
8. Palace of Moctezuma the Elder
9. Teoapa
10. Coatecalco
11. Uitzillan
12. Xoloco
13. Port Xoloco
14. Acachinanco
15. Tecpancalcidan
16. Tecpantzinco
17. Tequixtlan
18. Atenchicalco
19. Mixcoacchichilcalco
20. Tolteca acalcacan
21. Petlacalco
22. Papalotlan
23. Cuepopan
24. Nextenlico
25. Iliacac
26. Ayauhcalcidan
27. Yauhtenco
28. Market of Tlatilulco
29. Tenochtitlan and Tlalmoipan
30. Atecocolcan
31 Coyonacazco and Amanac
32. Cepultzonmoyan
33. Ayacac
34. Atlicuhuyan
35. Totoco
36. Quauxicalcan
37. Apanocayan
38. Tlaxochimico
39. Tzonmolpantzco and Atecpanco
40. Xochicalco and Quauhquechollan
41. Yacacolco
42. Tlilhuacan and Amoxpan
43. Colhuacatenco
44. Xocotlyhuc or Cihuatecpan
45. Tzonmolcoxcatzcayan
46. Atzacualco
47. Tenanyahuic

(After Orozco y Berra, with modifications suggested mainly by reference to Alfonso Caso, *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatilulco*. The locations of many of the places are provisional.)

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7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590). 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

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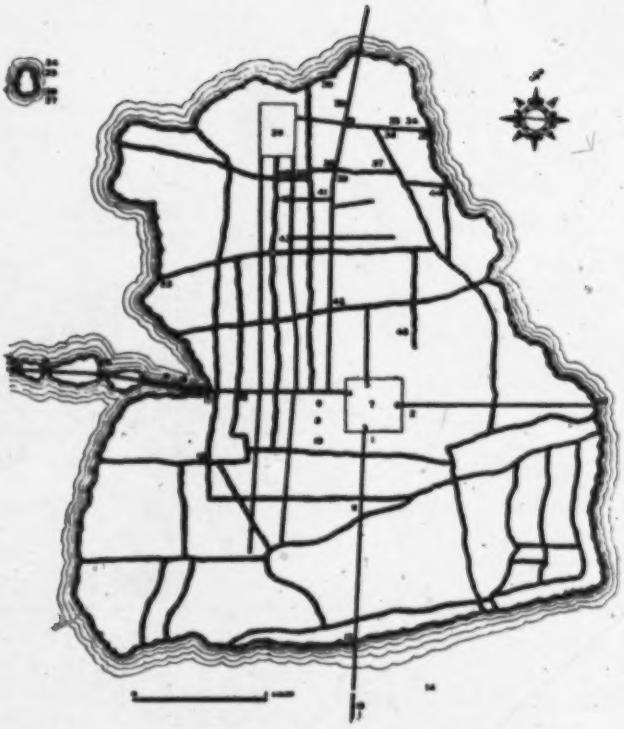

TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

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conception of city states within the Valley that owes much to the history of Greece and medieval Italy.

For the special purpose of this limnologic history, we need to wade into the "inextricable maraña" at only one or two points. On one point the sources, such as they are, are almost unanimous: there was a city called Tollán or Tula ("place of reeds" i. e. of *Typha*, the modern *tule*). Tollán is where the Toltecs came from, etymologically at least; the Toltecs were the predecessors of the Aztecs and the other Valley peoples, and were also regarded as ancestors by the Mexicanized Mayas of Yucatán, with whose tangled history we are fortunately not concerned here. The chief source of confusion, apart from the loss of the documents themselves, is the tendency, surely not a post-Conquest invention, for the relatively barbaric Valley people to identify themselves dynastically with the legendary founders of the civilization they inherited. The cultural picture is not an unfamiliar one, and probably was in actuality similar to that presented by the Etruscan foundations of Roman civilization; unfortunately, it comes to us on the testimony of friars who were only too well aware of such historic parallels, and could not refrain from asking leading questions. Be that as it may, Vaillant (1941), on the basis of archaeologic and historic researches, arrived at a satisfying conception of Aztec prehistory, in which the real and classic Tula (Tollán) was Teotihuacán, while memories of it played out their part in synthetic genealogies of "dynastic Toltecs", the chiefs of the wandering "Chichimec" tribes who entered the Valley after the decline of Tula in the 12th century.

Vaillant's picture was considerably upset by the excavations at Tula, Hidalgo (Acosta, 1940, 1941, 1944; see also Du Solier, 1941, and other papers in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*, T. 5, no. 2–3, 1941). These showed clearly that Tula, not Teotihuacán, was the Tollán from which emanated the Mexicanization of Chichén Itzá. Thus Tula was the Mayas' Tula, but whether it was necessarily the Mexicans' Tula is not so easily admitted, and is still in sharp dispute. What interests us here is whether Tula was a lacustrine city, for Teotihuacán was not.

The Codex Ramírez, authoritatively regarded as a manuscript copy of the *Relación del origén de los yndios*, probably 1583–87, by the Mexican Jesuit Juan de Tovar (see Kubler and Gibson, 1951, for discussion), is one of several almost identical histories of the migration period from the Aztec (i. e. not from the Texcocan) point of view. It happens to be the only one of which a convenient English translation exists (Radin, 1920), and from it we quote the following account of Tula.

"The remainder of the community with their chief and their ark

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 241 273 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain. 323 438 346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

and he sent certain loads of very rich mantles beautifully worked. 648

When the Chiefs came before Cortés with the present they touched the ground with their hands and with great reverence, such as they use among themselves, they said—"Malinche, Our Lord the Great Montezuma, sends thee this present, and asks thee to accept it with the great affection which he has for thee and all thy brethren, and he says that the annoyance that the people of Cholula have caused him weighs heavily on him, and he wishes to punish them more in their persons, for they are an evil and a lying people in that they have thrown the blame of the wickedness which they wished to commit upon him and his ambassadors," that we might take it as very certain that he was our friend, and that we could go to his City whenever we liked, for he wished to do us every honour as very valiant men, and the messengers of such a great King as you say that he (your King) is. But because he had nothing to give us to eat, for everything has to be carried into the city by carriers as it is built on the lake, he could not entertain us very satisfactorily, but he would endeavour to do us all the honour that was possible, and he had ordered all the towns through which we had to pass to give us what we might need. He also made many other complimentary speeches. When Cortés understood them through our interpreters, he received the present with demonstrations of affection and embraced the messengers, and ordered them to be given certain twisted cut glass beads. All our captains and soldiers were delighted at such good news, as that he [Montezuma] should bid us to come to his city, for, from day to day, the greater number of us soldiers were wishing for it, especially those who had left nothing behind them in the Island of Cuba, and had been on the two expeditions of discovery before this one with Cortés. [361 433]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food.

When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).
[2] Amecameca according to Cortés. [3] Ayotzingo.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

enter Mexico, or whether he should attack us, and all the priests had answered that his Huichilobos had said he was to allow us to enter and that then he could kill us, as I have already related in the chapter that deals with the subject, and as we are but human and feared death, we never ceased thinking about it. As that country is very thickly peopled we made short marches, and commended ourselves to God and to Our Lady his blessed Mother, and talked about how and by what means we could enter [the City], and it put courage into our hearts to think that as our Lord Jesus Christ had vouchsafed us protection through past dangers, he would likewise guard us from the power of the Mexicans.

We went to sleep at a town called Iztapalatengo[1] where half the houses are in the water and the other half on dry land, where there is a small mountain, (and now there is an Inn there) and there they gave us a good supper.

Let us leave this and return to the Great Montezuma who, when his messengers arrived and he heard the reply which Cortés had sent to him, at once determined to send his nephew named Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, with great pomp to bid welcome to Cortés and to all of us, and as we were always accustomed to post sentinels and scouts, one of the scouts came in to tell us that a large crowd of friendly Mexicans was coming along the road, and that to all appearance they were coming clad in rich mantles. It was very early in the morning when this happened, and we were ready to start, and Cortés ordered us to wait in our quarters until he could see what the matter was.

At that moment four chieftains arrived, who made deep obeisance to Cortés and said that close by there was approaching Cacamatzin, the great Lord of Texcoco, a

[1] This is clearly a mistake, the town was Ayotzingo.

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and when he was able he would repay the Lord Montezuma for all the favours which every day he was granting us.

As soon as the speech-making was over, we at once set out, and as the Caicques whom I have spoken about brought many followers with them, and as many people came out to see us from the neighbouring towns, all the roads were full of them.[1]

The next day, in the morning, we arrived at a broad Causeway,[2] and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and cues and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream? It is not to be wondered at that I here write it down in this manner, for there is so much to think over that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before, not even dreamed about.

Thus, we arrived near Iztapalapa, to behold the

[1] Blotted out in the original—"So that we could not proceed and the Caciques themselves told their vassals to make room for us, and to remember that we were Teules, and that if they did not make room we would be angry with them. On account of these words that were said they cleared the road for us, and we went on to sleep at another town, which is built in the water, which I think was called Mexquique,[3] and was afterwards named Venezuela, and it had many whitened towers and Cues, and the Cacique and chieftains treated us with much honour and gave Cortés a present of gold and rich mantles, and the gold was worth four hundred dollars and Cortés gave them many thanks for it. There we told them things about our holy faith as we did in all towns we came to. It seemed that the people of that town were on very bad terms with Montezuma on account of the many injuries he had done them and they complained of them and Cortés told them that he would soon remedy their ills if it should please God that we should soon reach Mexico."

[3] Mexquic.

[2] The Causeway of Cuitlahuac separating the lake of Chalco from the lake of Xochimilco.

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our holy faith, and explained to them the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and as there were was much other conversation, I will not repeat it.

I must state that at that time this was a very large town, half of the houses being on land and the other half in the water, and now at this time it is all dry land and they plant corn where it was formerly lake, and it is so changed in other ways that if one had not then seen it, one would say that it is impossible that what are now fields planted with maize, could at one time have been covered with water.

I will leave off here and will tell of the solemn reception given by Montezuma to Cortés and all of us when we entered the great city of Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

About the great and solemn reception which the Great Montezuma gave Cortés and all of us at the entering of the great City of Mexico.

EARLY next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and cues were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. It was not to be wondered at, for they had never before seen horses or men such as we are.

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on

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one side, on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we,—we did not even number four hundred soldiers! and we well remembered the words and warnings given us by the people of Huexotzingo and Tlaxcala and Tlamanalco, and the many other warnings that had been given that we should beware of entering Mexico, where they would kill us, as soon as they had us inside.

Let the curious readers consider whether there is not much to ponder over in this that I am writing. What men have there been in the world who have shown such daring? But let us get on, and march along the Causeway. When we arrived where another small causeway branches off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there were some buildings like towers, which are their oratories, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them. The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground, and kissed the ground with the hand.

There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma, who was approaching[1] in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques, who owned vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the Great Montezuma

[1] Que venia cerca.

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133 appended the depths of the lakes as determined by the drainage commission of 1861.

Name.	Level above Texcoco in Metres.	Depth in Metres.
Texcoco	0.00 ...	0.50
Zumpango ...	6.06 ...	0.80
Xaltocan	3.47 ...	0.40
San Cristóbal ...	3.60 ...	0.60
Xochimilco ...	3.14 ...	2.40 to 3.00
Chalco	3.08 ...	2.40
City of Mexico ...	1.90 ...	—

Silt may have made a considerable difference to the level of the lakes during four hundred years, but no possible allowance for silt could alter the conclusion that at the time of the Conquest the lakes must have been very shallow.

241 The site of the City was originally, in all probability, two reed-covered mud banks or islands, which may have been cultivated in
●361 much the same manner as were the *chinampas* or floating gardens at the time of the Conquest, or as the chinampas of Xochimilco are at the present day, and these two islands became respectively the sites of the towns of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan, and the space between them was eventually reduced to a rather broad canal.

361 Islands in lakes, or rocky knolls on the land surrounded by deep barrancas or gulches, were frequently chosen by the Indians tribes as sites for towns on account of the facility for defence, and the number of such sites in Mexico and Central America[1] still either occupied by towns or containing the ruins of ancient buildings are evidence of a continual state of intertribal walfare.

241 The chinampas were formed by heaping up the soft mud from the lake on to wattles in order to form seed beds for flowers and vegetables, and these floating gardens gradually increased in size and became more compact from the growth of the interlacing roots of the willows and other water-loving plants until they may have supported a small hut for the owner and his family, and the lengthening roots eventually anchored them on the shallow margin of the lake. Two large groups of such gardens are shown on the map published in Clavigero's *History of Mexico* lying off

[1] Cf. Mixquic, Tlahuac and Xochimilco in the lakes of Mexico, Tayasal in the lake of Peten, and the island homes of the Lacandones in Guatemala. Towns almost surrounded by barrancas are Cuernavaca and Yacapistla in Mexico, and Utatlan and Iximché, etc., in Guatemala. It is as well to note here that such sites were not chosen for cities of the older culture such as Teotihuacan, Cholula, Mitla, Palenque, Copan, etc.

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241 Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave [361] the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

363 503 The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

363 503 731 These various causeways did much to control the movement of the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Alharradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

731 503 "This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

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600 excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplated, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

361 The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of 361 Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct 346 parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding courts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

361 The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:— 363 "The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the [501] principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

342 "And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

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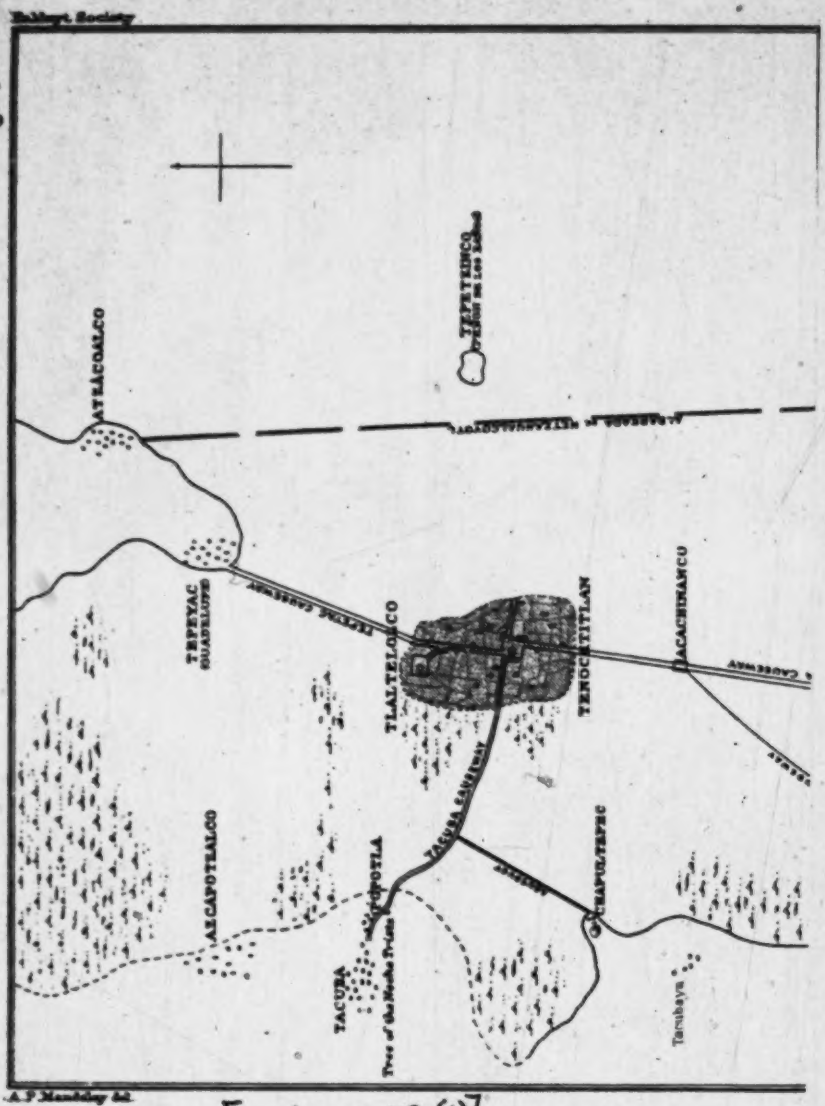

[facing p. 52 (A)]

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[Facing p. 52 (B)]

PLAN
shewing the position
of
THE CAUSEWAYS
connecting
THE ISLAND CITY of MEXICO
with
THE MAINLAND

Scale of Statute Miles

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346 down from above, where he was making his sacrifices, six priests and two chieftains to accompany our Captain. On ascending the steps, which are one hundred and fourteen in number, they attempted to take him by the arms so as to help him to ascend, (thinking that he would get tired,) as they were accustomed to assist their lord Montezuma, but Cortés would not allow them to come near him. When we got to the top of the great Cue, on a small plaza which has been made on the top where there was a space like a platform with some large stones placed on it, on which they put the poor Indians for sacrifice, there was a bulky image like a dragon and other evil figures and much blood shed that very day.

●361 When we arrived there Montezuma came out of an oratory where his cursed idols were, at the summit of the great Cue, and two priests came with him, and after paying great reverence to Cortés and to all of us he said: "You must be tired, Señor Malinche, from ascending this our great Cue," and Cortés replied through our interpreters who were with us that he and his companions were never tired by anything. Then Montezuma took him by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water, and the many other towns on the land round the lake, and that if he had not seen the great market place well, that from where they were they could see it better.

So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico, that is the causeway of Iztapalapa by which we had entered four days before, and that of Tacuba, along which later on we fled on the night of our great defeat, when Cuitlahuac[1] the new prince drove us

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

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out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food and others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs, and on the causeways other small towers and oratories which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had seen we turned to look at the great market place and the crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and words that they used could be heard more than a league off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadelupe.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

712 1524, gives an approximate picture of the distribution of these edifices, or rather clusters of buildings.[31]

346 "They called these temples 'teocallis,' and we found all over
● 361 "the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great
"quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one cross-
"bow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places
"it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of
"which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking
"towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at
"the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples,
"they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and
"three leagues distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness
"from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and
"the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to
"the courts of the teocallis, . . . the devil did not content
"himself with the aforesaid teocallis, but in each pueblo and in
"each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were
"other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes
"three or four teocallis . . . . ."

712 The arms and stores contained in the "houses of darts," are
421 often regarded as having belonged to the chiefs, or so-called "Kings" of the Mexican tribe, and the buildings themselves are mentioned as "royal storehouses," or "arsenals." It was not so, however. The arms and stores belonged to the people, and they were under the control of certain stewards ("calpixca") who distributed them to the military chiefs of the tribe, whenever any decision of the head-council, or any sudden emergency required it.[32]

temple, he thought thus to disarm the Mexicans, burning the arms (500 cartloads, says Tapia). Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VIII, cap. IX, p. 214 ("pareciendo á Hernando Cortés, "que era mas seguro consejo quitar las armas al enemigo pues la ocasion presente era "para ello mui aparejada"), together with that chief. But he only emptied one of these "houses of arms," and soon found out that the Mexicans had several others left.

[31] Fray Toribio, of Benavente (Kingdom of Leon in Spain), calling himself "Motolinia" (poor, unfortunate, unhappy), arrived at Mexico about the 17th of June, 1524. He was one of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries sent to New-Spain. The above quotation is from his "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," written about 1540. (Tratado I, cap. XII, pp. 63 and 65.) He died on the 9th of Aug., 1569.

[32] The "calpixqui" were civil functionaries, stewards, gatherers of tribute, to whose care the public stores were entrusted. The name is generally translated as "mayordomo," even by Molina (Vocab., II, p. 11). Its proper signification, however, would be derived from "tlacatl," man, and "pixqui," "what is gathered from the crops," therefore collectors or gatherers. Tezozomoc relates that before the foray against the tribes of Cuetlaxtlan: "Thus the calpixca or stewards of the tribes gave to their quar-"tere (stores and supplies of all kinds, too numerous to mention)." (Cap. XXXII, p.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
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A
712 area of the settlement thus enclosed, forming a terrace or platform, or whether it merely constituted a *belt around it*. As principal means of *protection*, they resorted to *elevation*.[182]

The pueblo of "Quauhquechollan (now Huacachula, in the State of La Puebla), lying to the South-east of Mexico, and tributary to the Mexicans in 1520, was considered very strong, and Cortés has left us the following description of its natural as well as of its
A artificial defenses:—

712 "This town of Guacachula lies on a plane, protected on one
361 "side by a high and steep hilly range, and on two sides by two
"rivers, distant from each other about two cross-bow shots. Both
"rivers run in deep and precipitous gorges; there are, conse-
"quently, but few places where an entrance could be effected,
"and even these are of difficult access, steep of descent and of
"ascent, on horseback. The place is surrounded by a strong
"wall of line and stone, outside of the city as high as four fath-
"oms, and almost level with the ground inside. A parapet one-
"half fathom in height runs along the top of this wall. For to
"sally there are four entrances wide enough for a horse-man to
"pass through; at each entrance there are three or four folds of
"the enclosure entering one into the other; on each fold of the
"wall a corresponding breastwork. Along the entire enclosure
T "they have heaps of stones and pebbles, with which they fight."[183]

712 This idea of constructing the pueblos on a mountain declivity, so as to be compelled to artificially protect *but one or two sides alone*, we find in several instances. The place of Chamula in the present State of Chiapas, when attacked by the Spaniards under

[182] Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España." Trat. III. Cap. XVI. p. 229), speaking of Tlaxcallan: "Their reason for building in high places was that in "order to feel more safe during their frequent wars, they looked to high and open "places, where they might sleep with less anxiety, since they had neither doors nor "walled enclosures, although they had entrenchments and fortifications ('albarradas "y reparos') in some places, they being sure of war to occur every year." The Mexican name for tribe, or settlement, or pueblo, "altepetl," itself indicates an elevated object, the word "tepetl" signifying "mountain" or "hill."

[183] "Carta Segunda (Vedia I. p. 50); also, Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXXII. p. 143), and several others. Clavigero (Lib. IX. cap. XXVIII) says that the walls of Quauhquechollan were fully 20 feet high, 12 feet wide, and had a parapet of 3 feet in elevation. The fathom: "Estado," "Braza," or "toesa," is equal to 2 "varas," or to 6 Castilian feet. According to this the wall would have been about 6.68-100 metres above the outer surface, or 22 feet. English. The text of Cortés reads: "tan alto como cuatro "estados por de fuera de la ciudad. e' *por de dentro esta' casi igual con el suelo.*" This would indicate that the "wall" was rather a *facing* of stone to a *large terrace*, upon which the pueblo itself had been erected.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were open places, without circumvallations or enclosures,[187] constructed after the plan which we have already exposed,[188] and without any other strongholds than their massive communal dwellings, and the 361 pyramidal temple, or "teo-calli."[189] On the flat roofs of the former 712 heaps of stones could be collected and hurled down upon the enemy from behind a guard of planks or adobe running along the edge of the roof.[190] The truncated pyramid, on its graded ascent, afforded room for a number of combatants.[191] Both gave the re-

[712] ther on he says: "Como se va adelgazando el cerro hasta la ermita," and "Zuazo" makes the very characteristic reply: "Asi vino bien para que se pudiera ver todo lo "que esta' abajo." (As a military position would indeed require.) In the Introduction to this Dialogue (p. 256), the learned Mexican scholar remarks: "Parece que estas al- "barradas o' escalones se conservaron hasta despues de la conquista, y que los emper, "adores Aztecas los habian llenado de tierra, convirtiéndolos en jardines, por no tener "ya objeto como obras de fortificacion."

[187] The letter written by "Fray Francisco de Bologna," from Mexico, to the provincial of Bologna, published in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil "de piéces, etc.") says: "Généralement leurs villes n'étaient pas fermées, mais les es- "pagnols leur ont appris á les entourer de murailles" (p. 212). The Mexican tongue distinguishes "altepetl," a pueblo (or tribe), from "tenamé-altepetl," a pueblo surrounded by a wall ("tenamitl" "muro," walled enclosure). The Quiche-language of Guatemala has adopted the Nahuatl word "tenamitl," changing it into "tinamit," to signify a tribe or place.

[188] Motolinia ("Hist. de los Ind. de N. España," "Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 63-65.

[189] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229. Id. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXVI).

[190] When the Spaniards entered Cholula they soon found out, according to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 20) and Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. LXIII, p. 75), "that "the roofs were covered with pebbles and lined with guards of adobe." The Tlaxcal- lans had previously warned Cortés about Cholula, saying (p. 19 "Carta Segunda,"): "y "que tenian muchas de la calles tapiadas, y por las azoteas de las casas muchas pie- "dras, para que despues que entrásemos en la ciudad tomarnos seguramente y aprove- "charsé de nosotros á su voluntad." They also warned him about Mexico, saying: "that all the roofs were flat, with guards like breastworks, so that they might fight "from the house-tops" (Bernal-Diez, cap. LXXVIII). During the street fights previous to the retreat of Cortés on July 1st, 1520, and also during the gradual capture of Mex- ico, the Mexicans fought desperately from the roofs, hurling stones, rocks and pebbles upon the assailants. See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 41, 42 and 43; "Carta "Tercera, pp. 74, 76, 84, 86). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CXXVI, pp. 130, 131; cap. CLI, p. 183). I refrain from quoting later writers, who copied mostly from the eye-witnesses' reports, and merely add the words of Fray Toribio de Parédes (Motolinia), in his History, written about 1540. ("Coll. de Doc.," I, trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187 "Estaba "Mexico muy fuerte y bien ordenada, ... Tenia por fortaleza los templos del "demonio y las casas de Moteuczoma, señor principal, y las de los otros señores."

[191] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 42): "Y en la torre muy alta y mas principal della se "subieron fasta quinientos Indios, que segun me parécio, eran personas muy princi- "pales. Y en ella subieron mucho mantenimiento de pan y agua y otras cosas de comer- "y muchas piedras; é todos los mas tenian lanças muy largas con unos hierros de po- "dernal mas anchos que las de las nuestras, y no menos agudos; è de alli hacian mucho "daño a' la gente de la fortaleza, porque estaba muy cerca della. La cual dicha torre "combatieron los españoles dos a' tres veces y la acometieron a' subir; y como era muy "alta y tenia la subida agra, porque tiene ciento y tantos escalones; y los de arriba es,

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source of fighting *under shelter from above*, while the assailant had to struggle *unprotected from below*. As against an *Indian* foe, these massive constructions were *indeed strongholds*, and even, as we shall hereafter see, they opposed strong obstacles to the Spaniards. Nevertheless, as often as it was possible, the aborigines added to the defensive means of their architecture the resource of a *strong natural position*, and *those* tribes proved to be most *powerful* and *aggressive*, whose *defensive* position was either naturally or artificially, or in both respects, *the least vulnerable*.[192]

We have already mentioned the pueblo of Mexico as one of the strongest positions ever occupied by Indians up to the sixteenth century. Still, it was an open place, without circumvallations or

"tabán bien pertrechados de piedra y otras armas, ..." Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXVI, p. 131). The latter, in the very "likely" style of the "Historia Verdadera" (?) mentions 4.000 men as having occupied "*one* teocalli." Cortés is more modest and certainly nearer the truth. See, also, Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187. "Tenia por fortaleza los templos del demonio"). When the Mexicans conquered Tlatlulco, the principal stronghold of the Tlatilulcans was their *temple*. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XLV, p. 74). Durán (Cap. XXXIV, p. 268): "el rey subió a' lo alto del templo con "otros canalleros suyos aunque con mucho trabajo por la mucha resistencia que halló"). We again refer to what has already been stated: that the temple being the highest, and therefore strongest, part of the pueblo, its capture or destruction was the signal of victory.

[192] The tribes of Chiapas were much feared on account of their ferocity, and of their naturally and artificially strong places. Compare Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI. p. 223, "porque ciertamente eran en aquel tiempo los mayores guerreros que yo habia visto "en toda la Nueva-España"). Cachula, Chiapas, and Chamula, were all naturally and by art well fortified. We have already alluded to Atitlan, in Guatimala (Report of Alvarado, Vedia I, p. 460. Bernal-Diez, Vedia II, cap. CLXIV, p. 221: "y que eran "muy malos y de malas condiciones"). Tlaxcallan itself enjoyed a very strong defensive position, although the place was open and not enclosed. Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229: "El señor mas antiguo y que primero lo fundó, edificó en un cerro-"jon alto, que se llama Tepeticpac, que quiere decir encima de sierra"). Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 18: "porque es muy mayor que Granada y muy mas fuerte"). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XII, p. 265). Gomara ("De Tlaxcallan," Vedia I, p. 333), etc., etc. Utlatlan, or rather "Gumarcaah," the QQuiché pueblo of Guatemala, of which Fuentes especially has made the capital of a vast "empire of Quiché," was a very strongly situated place. (See Stevens' "Travels in Central America, Yucatan, and Chiapas.") The village of Santa Cruz del QQuiche now stands in the vicinity. Alvarado, its conqueror, reports (Vedia I, p. 456): "as the city is most remarkably strong, and has not more "than two entrances, one by thirty and some, high steps of stone, and the other by a "dyke made by hand." The Abbé Brasseur describes it as follows ("Popol-Vuh," cap. IX, pp. 312 and 313, foot-note): "Utatlan or Gumarcaah was composed of three distinct "plateaux, surrounded by ravines communicating however by paths (or roads) flanked "by cut stones . . . . There was but one entrance to this great town, the same "by which it is now reached. (The QQuiché text says: "where the town with its ra-"vines was built of stone and lime and covered with cement.") Thus we have the principal pueblos of Middle America all established in strong defensive places, for Mexico, as we have already said, was perhaps the least vulnerable of all, and also the one which occupied the most prominent position.

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walled enclosures.[193] But it was surrounded by *water* on all sides. This was a *natural* protection, *apparently*. However, the lake around Mexico was the work of the Mexicans themselves, and deserves, as such, to be regarded as an evidence of no ordinary skill on their part. When they fled into the space subsequently transformed into a lagune, it was an extensive swamp, covered with canebrake. Many parts of it could be waded through with ease, at some places the streams emptying into it from the West filtered through the deeper channels into Lake Tezcuco. Flakes of turf or of sand occasionally protruded over the surface, and on one of these dry spots the Mexicans huddled together for existence.[194] Unmolested on account of their extreme weakness, they could extend this area of dry soil by additions of sod, by scanty artificial foundations of turf thrown into the shallow morass and, erecting upon it their frail dwellings, they lived in poverty until they found out the great advantage which this isolated position gave to them over the surrounding tribes. They realized that, while *they* might sally forth with impunity, having a safe retreat behind them, an attack upon *their* position was both difficult and dangerous for the assailant. Once *their* first attempt crowned with success they continued and, valuing their situation as the main element of strength, they improved the foothold on the mainland by compelling subjected tribes to build for them a causeway, running from the outlet of Lake Xochimilco northward, to the pueblo of Mexico.[195] This dyke, while it insured communication with the mainland, penned up the waters flowing into the swamp from the west-side, and *accumulated* them there.[196] On

[193] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). When the Tlaxcallans represented to Cortés the dangers to which he exposed himself by going to Mexico, they did not mention fortifications (Bernal-Diez, LXXVIII, p. 70), but simply how the place was surrounded by water, the strength of the houses, and their difficult access.

[194] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 5). Durán ("Hist. de las Yndias de Nueva España," Cap. IV, pp. 26 and 27) is very explicit: "y pasados por la otra parte del rio (the outlet of "Lake Xochimilco) metieronse en los carriçales y tulares de la laguna." "Deste lugar "vinieron buscando y mirando si allarian algun lugar que fuese acomodado para po "der hacer asiento, y andando desta manera por unas partes y otras entre las espa "dañas y carriçales, allaron un ojo de agua hermosissimo." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X and cap. XI, p. 92).

[195] Durán (Cap. XII, p. 112): "pues vuelto a' los de Xochimilco les mandó que luego, "sin mas tardar, mandasen a' todos los de la ciudad hiciesen una calçada de tres bra "ças en ancho desde su pueblo hasta la ciudad de Mexico, de piedra y tierra, cegas "en el agua quel termino desta calçada tomase, y hiciesen sus puentes á trechos para "que el agua tuviese por donde salir de una parte a' otra." (Also, Cap. XIII, p. 113.)

[196] We must remember that the level of the "plaza mayor" of Mexico was, towards the beginning of this century, but one "*vara*" (of three Castilian feet), one foot and

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the other hand, the fresh water emptying out of Lake Xochimilco was thrown to the east side of the dyke into Lake Tezcuco. By this simple contrivance the Mexicans surrounded their pueblo with a huge pond on all sides, isolating, or rather *fortifying* it beyond all conceivable means of Indian assault.[197] *The causeways leading to Mexico were, therefore, military constructions.*[198] Subsequently the dyke was continued to the north until where Guadalupe Hidalgo now stands (anciently Tepeyacac), thus closing up the western basin completely, and another causeway, running east and west was constructed to Tacuba. From the southern dyke a branch ran to Cuyuacan, starting at Xoloc and extending to the southwest. In order to insure free circulation of the waters, sluices were cut, which interrupted the causeways at several places. Wooden bridges, easily removable, were laid across these ditches. Thus Mexico needed no outer fortifications nor walled enclosures.[199]

one inch higher than the level of Lake Tezcuco. This elevation was purely artificial (Humboldt, "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Paris, 1827. Vol. II, pp. 96, 97 and 98). After the causeways running north and south had been constructed, the waters emptying into the swamp from the west side could not any longer run freely into the salt-water basin of Tezcuco. They were actually kept around the pueblo, and the swamp thus changed into a lagune. That those sources were powerful enough for such a purpose is amply shown by the great inundation which their careless opening occasioned under Ahuitzotl, in 1498 ("Essai politique," Vol. II, p. 101), of which the old authors bear ample testimony. (Durán, Cap. XLVIII and XLIX.) (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXX.) (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. LXVI.) (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXVII, pp. 192 and 193.)

[197] The levels of Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco are 1 vara 11 inches higher than the "plaza mayor" of Mexico. Their outlet is to the northwest, between Churubusco and Iztapalapan. Previously, when Mexico was surrounded by water, this outlet was between Mexicalzinco and Churubusco (then called "Huitzilopochco"). At Churubusco the great causeway began, and the waters emptying out of Lake Xochimilco flowed along its right hand side into Lake Tezcuco. The causeways thus increased the effects of natural drainage upon the central basin. It was certainly a very primitive but very effective work on the part of the Mexicans. We find a parallel to it, at a comparatively recent date, in Bolivia. When Andrés Tupac Amaru, the son of the unfortunate José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was blockading Sorata, in 1782, he could not, without artillery, hope to succeed against the well fortified town. Therefore, by a system of circumvallation, he enclosed the town with the waters of the Sierra, which finally destroyed the earthworks, leaving the entrance free to the infuriated Indians. 22,000 whites perished in the massacre ensuing.

[198] It is to the Hon. L. H. Morgan that we owe the first intimation in regard to the true character and purpose of these causeways. They were not merely for the purpose of insuring communication with the mainland, but especially for the defence of Mexico. Without them the area extending between the pueblo and the western shore would, at best, have remained a swamp, or would have become, as it now is, dry land. In both cases the defensive power of the Mexicans was at an end, and the course of events in Mexico would have turned quite differently.

[199] Mention is made of a fortification of some kind at "Xoloc," where the branch dyke from Cuyuacan joined the main causeway. (This must have been in the neighborhood of San Antonio.)

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361 An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops,
312 and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, ad-
712 vancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

726 The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

726 It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal
175 engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1850. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

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In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways.

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NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled, were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe" and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

[33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

[34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51-65). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242), "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpu'li," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de